

Journal of
**Developing Country
Studies**
(JDCS)

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper on “Anglophone Cameroon Crisis and the Quest for Ambazonian State” aimed at exploring the dynamics surrounding the Southern Cameroon crisis. Methodology adopted was descriptive design that relied on judgmental sampling technique. Data were gathered from secondary sources (books, journal articles, monographs, internet materials etc.) in Nigerian libraries and subjected to content validity before analyzing it qualitatively. Result of the findings revealed that availability of natural resources, commercial city of Limbe, proximity of Southern Cameroon to the Gulf of Guinea, political subjugation triggers the quest for Ambazonian State. It also indicated that the Anglophone Cameroon crisis has negatively, impacted on political, economic, social and humanitarian needs of the people. These findings have assisted in enhancing explanation and understanding of Frustration –

Aggression Theory. Regrettably, international community especially France, Britain, United States, Germany, United Nations and African Union have not taken serious action to mitigate the crisis in Southern Cameroon. This is why the paper recommends inclusive dialogue, international intervention as well as sanction as panacea for Anglophone Cameroon crisis.

Keywords: *Ambazonia, Cameroon, Separatist, Gulf of Guinea, Frustration, Aggression, Anglophone, Francophone.*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Geographically, the Republic of Cameroon is located in Central Africa, bounded by Nigeria to the West, Chad to the North, Central African Republic to the East, Equatorial Guinea, Republic of Congo (former Congo Brazzaville) and Gabon to the South (Lohokoko, 2013, Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur (2020). Lohokoko (2013) added that, “Cameroon lies between latitude 10 and 13N (North) and longitude 8 and 17E (East). However, Cameroon is often considered as “African miniature”, this is because it inhabits all major climates and vegetation of the African continent coast, desert, mountains, rainforest and savannah” (p.1).

The present crisis for self-determination bedeviling the modern Cameroon is a product of its past colonial experience. Historically, German was the first colonial master of the entire Cameroon before it was defeated by the allied forces (France, Britain, Belgium etc.) in 1919. International Crisis Group (2017) recalled that, “the German government and the traditional Douala Chiefs signed a treaty in July 1884, establishing a protectorate called Kamerun. Its territories were shared out after the German’s defeat at the end of the First World War. The league of Nations appointed France and United Kingdom as joint trustees of Kamerun” (p.2).

This arrangement existed until 1945, when United Nations Organization came into existence. The Eastern Cameroon was administered by France. The French government adopted policy of Assimilation with French as its official language. The Western Cameroon was colonized by Britain. The British government divided its territory into two; British Southern Cameroon and the British Northern Cameroon. The British Southern Cameroon was annexed to the Nigeria’s Eastern region, while the British Northern Cameroon formed part of the Nigeria’s Northern region. Indirect rule was the system of administration in the British territory and English Language became her official language. This colonial arrangement existed until 1960. Caxton (2018) recalled that:

The territory administered by France (French Cameroon), got independence on 1st January 1960 as the Republic of Cameroon. Nigeria got its independence from Britain on 1st October, 1960. The territories administered by Britain (British Southern Cameroon and British Northern Cameroon.... administered as part of Nigeria, were to decide, through plebiscite...by either joining Nigeria or French Cameroon. On 11th February 1961, the plebiscite took place. British Northern Cameroon voted to join Independent Nigeria, while the British Southern Cameroon

voted to gain independence by joining the already Independent Republic of Cameroon (p.2).

Regrettably, the decision to join the Republic of Cameroon was the beginning of the present Anglophone Cameroon crisis. The British Southern Cameroon and the Republic of Cameroon agreed to form a two-state federation. A federal constitution was written, adopted and even came into force on 1st October 1961. The name of the country was formally known as “Federal Republic of Cameroon” (Caxton, 2018). Konings (1997) decried that, “the Anglophone representatives thought they were participating in a constituent assembly that would draft a constitution guaranteeing an egalitarian federalism and a large degree of autonomy to the federated state, but Ahidjo imposed a ready-made constitution that gave broad power to the executive....to the detriment of the two federated states...” (cited in International Crisis Group, 2017, p.3). On 20th October, Ahidjo, the first President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon embarked on structural changes, by signing a degree that decentralized the federal territory into six administrative regions, namely; Adamawa, Central, East, Far North, Littoral and North region. “This provoked discontent among Anglophones because West Cameroon could not at the same time be a federated state according to the constitution and an administrative region by decree” (International Crisis Group, 2017, p.4). President Ahidjo unilaterally introduced right hand side driving, imposed metric system, and enforced Franc (FCFA) as legal tender throughout the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Paul Biya who succeeded Ahidjo on 6th November 1982 did not consider the federal constitution as anything. On 22nd August 1984, Biya divided the Anglophones into two provinces; North West and the South West. In that same year, he changed the official name of the country to the Republic of Cameroon. This reflects the original name before the federal constitution was drafted. Konings (1997) hinted that, “in that same year, the government’s move to standardize the Anglophone and Francophone education systems provoked strong resistance from teachers unions and the parents of pupils and it finally had to create an Independence General Certificate of Education (GCE) Board by presidential decree” (p.210). The political subjugation of the Anglophone Cameroon under President Paul Biya is becoming unbearable. Takougang (1993) decried that, “the President, Speaker of the National Assembly, Minister for Justice and Legal Affairs, Keeper of Seal, the Chief Justice and the Minister of Finance... all Francophone Cameroonians” (p.13). The government of President Biya has gone as far as marginalizing the language and culture of the

Anglophone people. Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur (2020) lamented that, “government measures such as transformation of the General Certificate of Education

Board into a parasitical with its management exclusively appointed by the Presidency, exclusive use of French language in public offices, whereas the country is bilingual” (p.5) are issues to be worried about. On 13th December 2016, Joseph Wirba, a parliamentarian from the South West Cameroon expressed his anger before the plenary, this way: Our ancestors and forefathers trusted you to go into a gentleman’s agreement. That two people who consider themselves brothers could go to live together. If this is what you show us after 55 years, then those who are saying that we should break Cameroon are right. They are correct! The people of West Cameroon cannot be your slaves. The people of West Cameroon are not, you did not conquer them in war. When injustice becomes law, resistance becomes a duty. (Cited in Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur 2020, p.6).

This Joseph Wirba’s motion before the parliament triggered the Southern Cameroonians toward a declaration of an Independent State popularly known as “Ambazonia.” Ngoh (2004) posited that, the term “Ambazonia” is derived from the word “Ambozes”, the local name for the Amba Bay area at the mouth of the Wouri River (p.6). The name was first used by Gorji-Dinka, the former President of Cameroon Bar Association, following the nullification of the two state structures and the renaming of the state, Republic of Cameroon in 1984, by President Paul Biya. Citing Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997), Ekah (2019) argued that, “...the dissolution of the 1961 union between the English and the French sections of Cameroon...called for the Southern Cameroons...to become independent and be re-baptized as the Republic of Ambazonia” (p.143).

In order to achieve this purpose, various militant groups such as Ambaland Forces, Vipers, Tigers, Ambazonia Defence Forces and the Southern Cameroonians Defence Forces have emerged to resist government security forces. It should be recalled that on 1st October 2017, thousands of people across the South West and North West of Cameroon marched peacefully chanting “no violence” and hoisted Ambazonian flags in police stations, gendarmene posts, Chiefs palaces in both Bamenda and Buea. International Crisis Group (2017) hinted that, “between 14th and 20th September, two bombs exploded in North West with no casualty, a third exploded by a police station in Bamenda, wounding three police officers, and a fourth nearly exploded in Douala. While nobody has claimed responsibility, the government, as well as a majority of Cameroonian public opinion attributed the blasts to the secessionist (p.5).

Similarly, on 8th November 2016, lawyers from the North West protested in Bamenda and demanded for the restoration of Common Law, as it was during the federal system. “While the march was taking place peacefully, gendarmes violently dispersed the crowd, manhandled some lawyers and arrested some motorbike taxi driver (Okada boys)” (International Crisis Group, 2017, p.9). On 21st November 2016, teachers in the Southern regions went on strike and complained bitterly against the appointment of teachers who did not have a good command of English Language but are teaching in schools in both South West and North West. In the same vein, on 8th December, 2017, there was a violent protest in Bamenda following a progovernment rally organized by members of Cameroon People Democratic Movement (CPDM). International Crisis Group (2017) hinted further that, “in violent clashes, four died, several were wounded and around fifty arrested. Demonstrators set fire to a police station, government buildings and vehicles” (p.10). There are many other violent confrontations that could still be cited, however, the pertinent questions that need explanations are:

- (i) Which theoretical framework can effectively explain Anglophone Cameroon crisis that result in the quest for Ambazonian State?
- (ii) What are the fundamental reasons for Anglophone Cameroon crisis that provokes the quest for Ambazonian State?
- (iii) What are the impacts of Anglophone Cameroon crisis that trigger the quest for Ambazonian State?
- (iv) How does International Community respond to Anglophone Cameroon crisis that ignite the quest for Ambazonian State?

The first section of this article deals with the introduction. The second section examines the theoretical framework while the third section highlights the materials and methods used for the research. The fundamental reasons for the Anglophone Cameroon crisis is the fourth section while the fifth section hints on the impacts of the Anglophone Cameroon crisis. The sixth section deals with the response of the international community to the Anglophone Cameroon crisis. Conclusion and recommendations constitute the last section of the articles

2.0 FRUSTRATION – AGGRESSION THEORY

Frustration-Aggression theory has been extensively used in explaining conflict situation in the field of social sciences, at both micro and macro level of analysis. This theory came into existence through rigorous research carried out by Yale University scholars; Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer

and Scars in 1939. The central thesis of the Yale scholars; Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Scars (1939) is premised on the fact that, “the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and contrariwise that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression.” (p.1). In terms of definition, frustration refers to “an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper time in the behaviour sequence” (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Scars, 1939, p.7). Newcomb (1968) cited in Breuer and Bochum (2017) argued that, “frustration always induces motivation of some kind of aggression which acts as a drive or motive to react, combat or make attack” (p.7). Freud (1927) in his instinct theory of aggression opined that aggression is inherited and biological in nature. An aggrieved person is expected to express his grievance both overtly and covertly (i.e. outwardly and inwardly). According to Freud (1927), “...aggression was a primordial reaction when the individual attempt to obtain pressure or avoid pain was blocked” (Cited in Johan, p.7). Added to this, is the view of McDougall (1946) who posited that, “...an instinct to engage in combat is activated by any obstruction to the person’s smooth progress towards his or her goal” (cited in Breuer & Elson, 2017, p.6).

Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Scars (1939) further opined that, the possibility of an aggrieved person adopting aggression depends on “(i) the strength of instigation to the frustrated response (ii) the degree of interference with the frustrated response and (iii) the number of frustrated response to sequence” (Cited in Dougherty & Pfaltzgraft, 1979, p.283). This means that, the gravity of the deprivation (thwarting), the frustrated effort towards resolution and the number of sequences of its occurrence, determine the rate of aggression. The response to a frustration can take the form of overt or covert aggression. Overt aggression requires open attack while covert aggression involves secret attack on the perpetrator of the frustration. This brings the concept of punishment into focus. Johan (2010) hinted that, if the aggressor anticipates punishment as an outcome of aggression, he would operate covertly. In the absence of punishment, he would operate overtly. “Put precisely ...anticipated punishment, which is a primary source of frustration, effects the inhabitation of overt aggression...” (Johan 2010, p.2). Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Scars (1939) further maintained that, “acts of aggression can be inhibited, especially when their commission would lead to punishment or other undesirable consequences. The expectation of punishment reduces overt aggression, and the greater the certainty and amount of punishment anticipated for an aggressive act, the less likely is that act to occur”. (p.54)

The expectation of punishment could intensify the aggression against the source of frustration, its agents or even self. Whenever the aggression is directed to the source of frustration (instigator) it, therefore, means the aggressor is hitting at the source. However, if it is directed towards the agent of the source, it could be seen as non-target, hence indirect aggression. It is the indirect aggression that the Yale School described as displacement. Dougherty & Pfaltzgraft (1979) hinted further that, "...there may occur a displacement of aggression, in which case the individual directs hostility toward someone or something not responsible for the original frustration" (p.283). Indirect aggression can also occur in a situation in which individual castigates himself especially in an extreme case like suicide. Finally, Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Scars (1939) maintained that any act of aggression leads to catharsis, "that is a release of aggressive energy or tension and a reduction in the instigation to aggression" (p.58). Regrettably, Morlan (1949) disagreed that; catharsis could lead to peaceful resolution or reduce aggressive impulse. Morlan (1949) rather lamented that the expression of an aggressive impulse does not result in catharsis, but, on the contrary, sets up a vicious cycle that leads to further aggression" (p.1).

The applicability of frustration-aggression theory to any conflict situation is considered excellent. It has the tendency of explaining both individual and group conflicts. Breuer and Elson (2017) added that, "this theory...explains how frustration produces aggression and if frustration is minimized, aggression, violence and crime can be minimized in the society, if not totally uprooted" (p.10). The relevance of Frustration-Aggression theory to the Anglophone Cameroon Crisis and the Quest for Ambazonian State cannot be overemphasized. The Southern Cameroon people had been frustrated severely by the government of President Paul Biya. Politically, the Southern Cameroonians have not been effectively represented in the central government, due to few appointees from the regions. Fonchingong (2011) decried that, "with regard to high level posts...an Anglophone has never been appointed to lead any of the important ministries such as; the Armed Forces, Territorial Administration, Finance, Education and Foreign Affairs" (p.227). Eden (2009) went further to inform that Cameroon has 58 administration divisions, surprisingly only 2 are headed by the Anglophones, even though 13 of the administrative divisions are in the Anglophone regions. In 2009, Cameroon had 15 military generals, unfortunately, only 2 are from the Anglophone, and none of the military regions in Cameroon is commanded by an Anglophone. Only 2 Anglophones (Achidi Achu – North West and Peter Musonge – South West) were appointed Prime Ministers. Their duties are often hijacked by junior ministers from Francophones.

Economically, the Anglophone regions have been frustrated and marginalized. Agwande and Nyadera (2020) recalled that the people of Anglophone continued complaining of absence of development projects such as good schools, hospitals, accessible roads or market centres, despite the fact that they are the major contributor to Cameroon's economy. In the same vein, the major oil and Gas Company in Limbe, Societe Nationale de Raffinage (SONARA), has refused to employ the indigenes of Southern Cameroon, irrespective of the fact that the company is hosted in the North West region. The situation in Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) is not different. The wide spread discrimination against the Anglophones in that corporation can only be imagined than experienced. Chereji and Lohkoko (2012) decried that, "high-ranking officials in the corporation are from Francophone regions while Anglophones have relegated to lower employment cadres to work as security guards and drivers" (p.4). Added to this, "...Banana plantation in Tiko, the top management is drawn from the Francophone regions while the Anglophone Cameroonians are relegated to work as manual labourers with low remuneration and very poor working conditions" (p.5). This marginalization attracts a lot of condemnation from known figures in Southern Cameroon. The first Vice President of the Rassemblement Democratique du Peuple Camerounais (RDPC), John Foncha resigned from his position. In his resignation letter, Foncha (1986) regretted that:

The Southern Cameroon whom I brought into the union have been ridiculed and referred to as less Biafras, les enemies dans la maison, les traitres, etc and the constitutional provisions which protected this Anglophone minority have been suppressed, their voices drowned while the rule of the gun replaced the dialogue which the Anglophones cherish very much (cited in Mukong, 1990, p.8).

The President of Ambazonian Interim Government, Ayuk Julius (2017) also lamented that, "...they have taken away everything that makes us human...we have two airports as we speak, you cannot land on plane in our soil, there is deep seaport in our land abandoned to a seaport in Douala..." (cited in Ekah, 2019, p. 158).

In line with Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Scars (1939) assumptions that, "the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression" (p.1). Berkowitz (1989) also added that, aggression was a "behavioural sequence whose goal was the injury of the person to whom it was directed" (p.60). The people of Southern Cameroon cannot wait forever before sincere integration takes place. On 21st September 2016, thousands of teachers and lawyers protested against the

engagement of French teachers and French Lawyers in Anglophone regions. They maintained that, the French teachers are not fluent in English Language. The Anglophone lawyers also alleged that the Francophone lawyers that practiced in the Southern Cameroon were only acquainted with French civil law not common law that is popular in the regions regrettably. Regrettably demanded for their immediate posting to the Francophone regions. The teachers and lawyers were adequately punished by the regime. Caxton (2020) recalled that:

The government proceeded to arrest some key leaders including Wkongho Agbor Balla... Fonteem Neba Aforteka...Paul Ayah Abine...Mancho Bibixy. Other leaders fled the country or went into hiding... The government also shut down internet services in the two Anglophone regions. The regions went for 93 days without internet, until 20th April 2017 when the services were restored (p.6). On 28th November 2016, students from University of Buea protested against the school management. The management of the University was instructed by the government to deny the student their education grants and force them to pay fee for accessing their results from the University portal. Though this protest was hijack by hoodlums, government response was harsh.

Tembon (2018) reported that, “police... beat up students ruthlessly, broke into students’ residential buildings, forced students to roll in mud, and arrested and humiliated students of either gender. More than 100 students arrested...claimed to have been tortured and detained in dehumanizing conditions” (pp.8-9).

Similarly, on October 1st 2017, the proposed date for the declaration of the Republic of Ambazonia, there was a violent protest in Bamenda, Limba, and Buea. Government responded brutally. According to Kindzeka (2016), “several people were killed and hundreds more were arrested or missing in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon in violence that followed rallies by the country’s English-speaking minority” (p.1). Centre for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa (CHRDA) cited in Fonken (2018) hinted that, the people of Southern Cameroon were labeled “dogs” and the “military broke into peoples’ home and shot young men and even arrested people in churches. Fonken (2018) further maintained that, “it is in response to this situation that, the people of the region called on their young people to arm themselves in selfdefence as they could not sit by and watch the military kill, maim, rape, torture them and burn down their villages with impunity” (p.1).

The source of the frustration was not spare. The militant wings such as Vipers, Tiger, Ambazonia Defence Force as well as Southern Cameroon Defence Force also attacked the government forces. International Crisis Group (2018) hinted that, “over...170 military and police officers...with more than 250 security officials wounded” (p.6). The militants burnt vehicles that belong to sub-prefect and prefect in Boyo and Fundong in the North West, snatched weapons from gendarmes in Kumba in South West. They also attacked police stations in Ikiliwindi, Mabanda Teke, Kongle and threw stones at police and military personnel in Buea and Bamenda (International Crisis Group, 2017). The militants also embarked on displaced aggression. Some communities, which were not directly involved in the crisis, were also attacked by the militants. As recorded in International Crisis Group (2019):

Since mid-2018, the conflict in Anglophone regions has spread to Cameroon Francophone regions, increasing the risk of inter communal conflict. About twenty attacks, including arson have taken place in the Francophone West (Menoua, Bamboutos and Noun) and Littoual (Mbanga, Njombe Penja and Mpenda Mboko) regions, killing about fifteen people and causing considerable material damage (p.3).

3.0 MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study adopted descriptive design and relied on the judgmental sampling technique. Secondary data (books, journal articles, monographs, conference papers, internet materials etc.) were sourced in Nigerian libraries, subjected to content validity, before analyzing qualitatively. The use of qualitative analysis helped the researcher to embark on an indebt study of Anglophone Cameroon crisis, analyze previous literature and expose intellectual gaps, wherever it exists. The population of the study comprises Cameroon, Anglophones, Francophones, United Nations, African Union, Ambaland Forces, Vipers, Tigers, Ambazonia Defence Forces, among others; while Anglophone Cameroon was the sample. The choice of Anglophone Cameroon was judgmental in view of the fact it is the only region that demand for the creation of Ambazonian state and the epic-centre of the crisis in Cameroon.

3.1 Fundamental Reasons that Trigger Agitation for Ambazonian State

The Anglophone regions of Cameroon have similar history with the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. In 1959, Britain the colonial master of Nigeria refused to grant the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, a separate state, due to their belief that the region was too small and lacked resource that can

sustain its independence. Similar scenario repeated itself with the people of Southern Cameroon who were seeking for a separate state from Nigeria and Republic of Cameroon. International Crisis Group (2017) recalled that, “at the time of the 1961 referendum... the majority of the population aspired to independence, but the United Kingdom and some developing countries were against it on the grounds that Southern State would not be economically viable and that it was best to avoid the creation of micro states” (p.3). The African leaders that supported this view were Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, as well as Jombo Kenyatta of Kenya among others. Surprisingly, the rejected stone has become the corner stone. The Niger Delta region of Nigeria is the only region that could be described as the economic hub of Nigeria. In the same vein, 80% of Cameroon export earning come from the Southern Cameroon. Geographically, Cameroon has a coastline that lies on the Bight of Biafra, Gulf of Guinea as well as Atlantic Ocean. Indeed, this is the area that hopes to give birth to the Ambazonian State. Gulf of Guinea is the world richest and under-exploited area. Abubakar (2016) posited that, “it holds about 35% of the world’s total petroleum reserves and blessed with many mineral and other natural resources such as diamonds, tin, bitumen, copper, manganese, gold, phosphide, granite, gas, ... as well as very rich rain forests which accounts for 20% of the world total rainforest reserves” (p.7). In order to secure and effectively managed these resources, Gulf of Guinea Commission that made up of Angola, Cameroon, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, including Sao Tome and Principe was formed in 2009.

History has it that the struggle for natural resources is a major determinant of most conflicts in Africa. In Nigeria (Biafra war), Democratic Republic of Congo (Katanga war), Sudan (South Sudan war) to mention but few, emanated from the struggle for natural resources, eventually led to the agitation for self-determination. In this case, the Southern Cameroon is endowed with natural resources. Ekah (2019) argued that, “the presence of the natural resources remains a major driving force of those fighting for an independent Ambazonia...Blessed with natural resources...the separatist believe that if exploited after independence, it would guarantee the economic sustainability and auto centric development of Ambazonia” (p.147).

Some of the natural resources in the Anglophone Cameroon include; petroleum, timber, rich soils, minerals, forest reserve. Ayuk Julius, the President of Ambazonian Interim Government on 22nd

September, 2017 identified some of the areas in the Southern Cameroon where resources are abundant, during his address to the people of Ambazonia. Ayuk Julius mentioned Kupe Muanengba “county” that has 8 sand quarries, 6 pozzolana quarries, 1 pool paint, 2 mineral water resources and iron ore. In Njinikom municipality (North West region), there is an abundant presence of Basalt which is commonly known as “black stone”. There is enough availability of gold in Misaje and Mamfe as well as iron ore, diamond, gold, gemstone and uranium in Mayo Binka; among others. “Believing in the presence of natural resources...the Ambazonian government remained optimistic for the survival of an independent nation” (Ekah, 2019, p.149). Related to the above, the Anglophone regions host the highest deep seaport in Cameroon. The deep seaport is in Limbe. Limbe lies along the Amba Bay in the Gulf of Guinea and has strategic importance to the future Ambazonian government. The town is the link between the West and Central Africa. The Ambazonian Interim Government promised to develop the Limbe’s deep seaport, whenever the independent is declared. “Thus, the development of a deep seaport in the town would assist the flow of goods to and from “the country” making Ambazonia a major export of agricultural produce, considering the abundance of food and cash crops in the territory” (Ambazonia, 2019, p.7). Again, it is worthy to note that Limbe in the North West region also host the largest oil and gas company in Cameroon; popularly known as Societe Nationale de Raffinage (SONARA). It is a French company that owns and operates the only crude oil refinery in Cameroon. It produces butane, gasoline, jet fuel, kerosene, fuel and has capacity of refining 2 million tons of crude oil in a year. In 2017 Ayuk Julius, said that the Limbe oil wealth accounts for 60% of the Cameroon’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The Ambazonia would be the 6th largest oil producer in Saharan Africa, “hoping to provide significant opportunities for exploration companies once independent is attained” (Ambazonia, 2019, p.7). Added to this, Cameroon Development Corporation (State Owned Company) is located in Limbe. It is an Agro-Industrial Enterprise that was created by the colonial master in 1946. The company acquires, develops and operates extensive plantations. It grows tropical crops such as; rubber, oil palm, and banana. Cameroon Business (2016) explained further that, “its plantations cover a total of approximately 41,000 hectares of land. The corporation operates a Rubber Estates, Oil Palm Estates, 5 Rubber Factories and 2 Palm Oil Mills. It constitutes a workforce of over 22,000 employees, making it the second highest employer after the state of Cameroon” (p.3). This corporation has potential for future growth as it was during the colonial day. The present challenges of the corporation are

directly linked with corrupt government in Yaoundé. The corporation cannot pay its workers and the workforce has reduced drastically. Ebune (2016) hinted that, “the Ambazonian Interim Government still believes that, the agroindustrial potentials of Ambazonia remain imminent for the survival of the nation after independence” (p.6).

3.2 Impacts of Anglophone Cameroon Crisis on the Republic of Cameroon

The activities of the militant groups in the Southern Cameroon who are demanding for Ambazonian State, and the government forces who insist on the unity of Cameroon have several political, economic, social and humanitarian impacts on the Republic of Cameroon.

(i) Political Impacts

The first and the major political impacts of the Anglophone Cameroon crisis is that, it has rendered Cameroonian borders with Nigeria porous. The Anglophone Cameroon shares both land and maritime borders with South South region of Nigeria. Regrettably, the same issue that centres on session which the Southern Cameroon are battling with their government, the Biafran group in Nigeria that claims the entire South South and South East as area of its proposed state, Biafra are also battling with Nigerian government. Infact, there is a strong alliance between the two belligerent groups. As Sevastianov, Laine and Kireev (2019) argued,

“it is statistically proven that, if a country is bordered by a belligerent neighbour, the probability of that country being drawn into a conflict is three times higher...” (p.56). In the same vein, Anderson and O’Dowd (1999) opined that, “the correlation between internal conflicts and their cross border dimensions is an important variable that should not be neglected.” (p.596). This opinion has not been considered as important. The governments of Nigeria and Republic of Cameroon do not think that it is necessary. The Ekok and Ekang borders which are the two recognized land borders have been used as corridors for illegal supply of weapons to the rebels from both sides. Ekah (2019) recalled that, in January 2018, there was an attack that involved sporadic shootings by the rebel at Ekok border. “The attack saw the use of explosives with assailants reported to have approached from the Nigerian side of the border, though refuted by the Nigerian government who claimed to have spotted armed men on the Cameroon side of the border.” (GardaWorld, 2018, p.4). Kindzeke (2017), reported that, Cameroonian military had intercepted hundreds of fighters from Nigeria, crossing into Cameroon. Their purpose was mainly to assist the rebel groups in Anglophone Cameroon. Similarly, Journal du Cameroon (2019) hinted that:

In January 2019, three persons were arrested along the Cameroon/Nigeria border for allegedly trafficking ammunition into Cameroon... Bullets were transported in bags of groundnut...heading from Nigeria to Bamenda in the North West Region of Cameroon. Separatist fighters were ready to exploit...porous border zone between both countries (Cited in Ekah, 2019, p.153).

It should be recalled that, the President of Ambazonia Interim Government, Ayuk Julius sneaked into Abuja, and used Federal Capital of Nigeria as a base to attack the Cameroonian government. Ayuk was arrested in January 2018 and repatriated to Cameroon to face treason charges. Nigeria cannot condone the activity of Ayuk Julius and his cohorts, in view of the fact that both Nigeria and Cameroon are threatened by the secessionist movements. Again, the northern region of both states is being attacked by a common enemy, Boko Haram. Nigeria needs cooperation with Cameroon now than ever before (Ekah, 2019). As International Crisis Group (2019) captured it:

The Nigerian government tends to support Yaoundé's position...partly because it fears that, the conflict in the Anglophone regions will encourage its own separatist movements in Biafra. The Nigerian President, Muhammadu Buhari, also fears annoying Paul Biya, an important ally in the struggle against Boko Haram (p.21).

(ii) Economic Impacts

The Cameroonian economy depends on oil sector, which constitutes 60% of its Gross Domestic Product, as well as timber that contribute 4.5% of its foreign exchange earnings. The local economy in Cameroon also focuses on large plantations owned by Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) and other smaller plantations located in Douala and Limbe. Regrettably, Douala and Limbe, which are the economic hubs of Cameroon, are in the Southern Cameroon, and the epicenters of the crisis. International Crisis Group (2019) regretted that, in July 2018, the Cameroon Employer Association estimated the values of loses caused by the crisis to the tone of FCFA 269 billion (E410 million). The separatists were able to achieve this, through brutal violence inflicted on the plantation workers at Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC). Cameroon Daily Journal, cited in Ekah (2019) hinted that on 19th February 2019, 6 workers had their finger chopped off in Tiko, South West region of Cameroon. This was a big threat, hence most workers had to abandon their work and escape for survival. National Time (2019) cited in

Ekah (2019) maintained that, the General Manager of CDC said this, “in most of the estates, the workers have abandoned work, the crops such as bananas, rubber, palm, now have been overgrown by grass...structures of the corporation had been vandalized and some burnt down”(p.5). Ayaba Lucas, a separatist leader expressed his happiness and said “...we have stopped one of the greatest corporations (CDC) they (Cameroon) have been generating money from, to feed their army against Ambazonia” (cited in Ekah, 2019, p.151). African Development Bank (2019) had raised serious concern on the economic impact of the Anglophone Cameroon Crisis. In its report of that year, it decried that, “the economy of Cameroon is facing slow growth compared to the other states in the continent” (cited in Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur 2020, p.7). Cocoa, oil palm, plantain and banana farmers in South and North West Cameroon have abandoned their farms and ran to safer places. Some of the farmers are presently at refugees’ camps in Nigeria. Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur (2020) lamented that, “these sorts of negative production trends are expected to continue as long as finding a solution for the conflict continues to remain evasive” (p.7).

(iii) Social Impacts

The quest for Ambazonian State among the Anglophone Cameroonians has created disunity, which will require years to solve. International Crisis Group (2017) decried that, “while many Francophones say they support the Anglophone “demand” ...this support is in word only...that Francophone do not really understand the problems that stem from being a minority” (p.22). There is no dispute about this. It could be recalled that immediately after the 12th September 2017 crisis, the division between the Francophones and the Anglophones became wider. Hate speech and verbal attacks on the Ambazonians were freely released from both state and nonstate actors (especially Francophone Cameroon). The South West Governor (Bernard Okalia) called the protesters in Douala “dogs” while the Minister of Communication (Issa Bakary) described them as terrorists. Cameroon Radio Television (CRTV) tagged the protesters as secessionists. Again, the Francophone elites, advised the government of President Biya, “to declare a state of emergency in Anglophone regions, make mass arrest, search houses (including those belonging to ministers) and conduct a surveillance operation” (International Crisis Group, 2017, p.7). Some Francophone indigenes were happy over deaths of most protesters “vowing more deaths on subsequent occasion” (International Crisis Group, 2017, p.7). Anglophone Cameroonians were also treated with disdain, as soon as the protest ended. Some of

them who lived in Yaoundé, state capital and its neighbourhoods such as; Biyem-Assi, Melen, Obili, Biscuiterie Etoug-Ebe among other places were illegally arrested and detained without prosecution. Even those that were prosecuted, government-imposed terrorism charge on them and dictated to the judges, their years of imprisonment. The Anglophone people are suffering deep malaise, hence “...feel hated and more marginalized than ever before...Now we need secession so that we can all live in peace...that will bring back the peace” (Cited in International Crisis Group, 2017, p.8), as lamented by Ajuk Julius, the President Ambazonian Interim Government.

Regrettably, some of the leaders of the Anglophone Cameroon do not have any empathy on their fellow indigenes. It should be recalled that South West Chiefs visited President Paul Biya in September, 1993. In that visit, the Chiefs expressed their readiness to support the President and his policy. The Chiefs according to Konings and Nyamnyoh (1997) lamented that:

They are alarmed at the numerous demonstrations, blackmail, civil disobedience, rebellious attitudes and recurrent activities designed to destabilize the state and the government, and strongly condemned any attempt to partition Cameroon on the basis of Anglophone and Francophone culture... (p.225).

The question now is: how would Ambazonian agitators succeed in view of local division?

(iv) Humanitarian Impacts

The Anglophone Cameroon request for self-determination has resulted in serious humanitarian crisis on the people of Southern Cameroon. International Crisis Group (2019) maintained that:

The conflict has killed at least 1,850 people... had a substantial social and humanitarian impact on Anglophone regions: most schools have been closed for the last two years, more than 170 villages have been destroyed, 150,000 people have been internally displaced and 35,000 have sought refuge in neighbouring Nigeria. (p.6)

In Nigeria, refugee camps are in Cross River State (Ogoja, Boki, Etung and Obanliku Local Government Areas), Benue State (Konishsha, Kwande and Vandeikya Local Government Areas) including Taraba State (Ussa, Takum, Donga, Wukari and Sardurna Local Government Areas). The most disturbing aspect is the fact that, nearly all the refugees who left Southern Cameroon to Nigeria had nothing that can assist them to live in refugee camps. Their properties were burnt, and villages destroyed by the Cameroonian gendarmes and military forces. Presently, the UN High

Commissioner for Refugees, the Nigerian government, Local Authorities, NonGovernmental Organizations and good spirited individuals are their saviours. Nigerian government is appealing to the International Community to come to its assistance, since it is also caring for millions of people displaced by bandits in the North West and Boko Haram in the North East.

Education also suffer greatly in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon. The destructions inflicted on the people of Southern Cameroon did not restrict to private property (houses), but extended to government owned institutions, especially schools and hospitals. These destructions suggest that the government forces destroyed the private property, while the rebels, destroyed government property in retaliation. Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur (2020) decried that, “over 700,000 children have been denied the right to access education due to either closure of schools or through imposed school boycotts” (p.7). International Crisis Group (2019) also lamented that:

The majority of the children in the Anglophone region have not been to school for two or three years, unwanted pregnancies are increasing among young women, and many families are pressuring their children into working. Even if the conflict were to end now, it would be difficult for these children to go back to school (p.4). Unfortunately, the future of these children is doom and the hope for prosperity in the Republic of Cameroon is dash.

3.3 International Response to Anglophone Cameroon Crisis

Unarguably, the 21st Century is characterized by violent conflicts, and the global society has been enmeshed in it. Regrettably, the super powers (United States, Russia, China, Britain and France) and the entire members of United Nations select conflicts that merit intervention. The Syrian crisis, South Sudan crisis, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) Crisis, Boko Haram Crisis and Al-Shaabab crisis attract global attention than domestic crisis such as Niger Delta crisis, Biafra crisis, Anglophone Cameroon crisis, to mention but few. Despite the minimal attention which Anglophone Cameroon crisis has attracted, the agitators, especially Ambazonian Interim Government, Ambazonian Governing Council, Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) as well as Centre for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa (CHRDA) have projected the Anglophone Cameroon Crisis beyond the shore of Cameroon State.

The Ambazonian Interim Government and the members of Anglophone diaspora domiciled in United Kingdom have petitioned the British government to intervene in the crisis. Britain being a former colonial master of the Southern Cameroon is seen as the only guarantor of peace and security in the Anglophone regions. It is their moral duty to complete the job, which they did not

finish before the unification in 1961. It should be recalled that most leaders in Southern Cameroon, especially, Enderly of Kemerun National Congress (KNC) did not endorse the unification, rather demanded for independent country for the Southern Cameroon. “While the United Kingdom has claimed its willingness to mediate in the conflict, they have insisted that the invitation has to come from the government of Cameroon” (Agwande & Nyadera, 2020, p.8). The people of the Southern Cameroon are not satisfied with the position of British government. They expect it to provide the lead, while other super powers follow. Lunn and Brooke-Holland (2019) argued that, “they looked up to Britain to complete the decolonization process of her former territory of British Southern Cameroon, by facilitating the recognition of the independence of Ambazonia...” (p.156). However, economic interest of the United Kingdom dominates any other relationship they must have had with the people of Southern Cameroon. It is unfortunate that while the British government was still monitoring the Anglophone Cameroon crisis, especially the area of human rights abuses, the British Trade Secretary, Liam Fox secured a trade deal to a British Company (New Age Company) worth 1.5 billion from Cameroonian government. New Age Company was expected to deliver a floating natural gas project at Etinde in Limbe, which is located in that same restive North West region of Cameroon. Liam Fox, the British Trade Secretary even said that, “these projects are just the tip of the iceberg, with huge scope for more British companies to target overseas markets” (Offshore Energy Today, 2018, cited in Ekah, 2019, p. 156). Britain often condemns the violence perpetrated by the government forces and the militant groups from the Anglophone regions. The state is also concerned with the plight of women and children, especially those living in refugee camps. In 2018, the British government donated £2.3 million as humanitarian aid to the Anglophone regions. The United Kingdom needs peace to reign in Cameroon, hence during his official visit to Cameroon on 14th16th February 2018, James Duddridge, the Minister of Africa Affairs, after congratulating President Paul Biya for his reelection, maintained that:

The UK is concerned at the worsening humanitarian situation in the Anglophone regions and the impact this is having on the lives of ordinary people. We call on all parties to grant full and unhindered humanitarian access to the affected population. The UK will continue to work alongside the International Community to encourage and support effort to resolve the Anglophone Crisis. It is vital that all parties now

work together to secure a peaceful future for all Cameroonians (UK Government 2018, cited in Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur 2020, pp. 8-9).

Despite the humanitarian aids and other assistances which British government has rendered to the Anglophone regions, International Crisis Group (2019) regretted that, "...like the French, the British are not popular with Anglophone activists who criticize the former colonial power for not taking the lead on the Anglophone question..." (p.20). The hatred for France among the Anglophone regions emanates from the believe that its government supports President Paul Biya. France was a formal colonial master of the Eastern Cameroon that united with the Western Cameroon to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon in 1961. It should be recalled that during the 1992 presidential election dispute between President Paul Biya (Francophone) and John Fru Ndi (Anglophone), the French government supported the incumbent President, Paul Biya, even though the election result was rigged and the violence associated with it was a popular issue, yet the French government recognized President Paul Biya as the authentic winner of that election.

"French President, Francois Mitter had declared on Radio France on October 11, 1992 that, "no English man will ever be President of French Province" (Toh, 2001, p.3). The hatred for the Anglophones has been there for a longtime, this is why French President, Emmanuel Macron, supports President Paul Biya's decentralization policy not secession.

According to International Crisis Group (2018), "France privately supports decentralization (federalism) as the political solution to the Anglophone conflict... presents itself as a protector to the Cameroonian government against pressure from the international community..." (p.9). France plays this role because of her economic interest in Cameroon. Its investment in Cameroon are in the area of oil and gas, cement, wood construction as well as telecommunication sector. Business in Cameroon (2010) cited in Ekah (2019) explained further that the leading French companies in Cameroon are; Bollore Group (for agriculture, agribusiness, logistics and transportation) Total and Perenco (for oil), Orange (for mobile telephony) Bonnygues, Razzel and Scet (for construction) to mention but few. Ekah (2019) argued that, "these among others... explain the strong bilateral ties between Cameroon and France..." (p.155). Again, even though, France had signed military cooperation with Cameroon since independence, it has always condemned violence that happen in that country, call for dialogue and support peace effort. In November 2018, Chistophe Guilhou, the French Ambassador to Cameroon visited President Paul Biya and pleaded for political solution to the

Anglophone Cameroon crisis. International Crisis Group (2019) posited that, “the president has delivered to some extent (release of 289 Anglophone detainees and the creation of disarmament committee) but done little to encourage the Anglophone conference, reshuffle the government or speed up decentralization” (p.19). Since serious changes have not been effected after the visit, the Anglophone activists see the delay as intentional, masterminded by French government. The President of Ambazonian Governing Council, Ayuba Julius (2019) alerted, “the French President...Emmanuel Macron that, their proxy war in Ambazonia is not only unwinnable but is going to be economically costly on her relationship with Yaoundé” (cited in Ekah, 2019, p.156). Furthermore, the United State government is the only super power that criticizes President Paul Biya and his government openly over human rights abuses in Anglophone regions. It should be recalled that on 28th November, 2016, the United States government published a communique calling for dialogue between the government and the Anglophone regions. In that communique, it cautioned the Cameroonian government against abuses of human rights. In December 2016, the State Department condemned the human rights abuses perpetrated by Cameroon’s government against the vulnerable groups, and asked government “to better consider the Anglophones’ claims to autonomy” (International Crisis Group, 2019, p.18). Similarly, in May 2018, Peter Barlerin, the United States Ambassador condemned the burning of villages by the state security agencies in Anglophone regions. Mike Pompeo, the immediate past Secretary of State in December 2018 called for “the imposition of sanction on individual found to have committed gross violation of human rights” (International Crisis Group, 2019, p.18). United States has been a strong ally to the Cameroonian government; especially in the fight against Boko Haram in Far North. Regrettably, reports reaching Washington indicate that most military assistance to the government; have been redirected to the fight against the Anglophones. United States has to end the military assistance immediately. New York Times (2019) confirmed that, “in 2019, the United States that has been providing support to the Cameroonian government in the fight against Boko Haram terrorist group announced the cancellation of the military aid amounting to €17 million (cited in Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur 2020, p.9). Similarly, Germany had condemned the human rights abuses perpetrated by both government security forces and the Anglophone militant groups. The Bundestag (parliament) and deputies (about 50) have called on the Prime Minister, Angela Michel to suspend economic cooperation with Republic of Cameroon in the event of further human rights abuses in the Anglophone regions. Switzerland has also been

pressing for dialogue in Cameroon. In March 2018, Guy Parmelin, the President of Switzerland met with Paul Biya in Cameroon and offer his country's readiness to mediate in the Anglophone crisis. "Paul Biya reportedly responded in an ambiguous way; he has neither rejected...nor formally approved it." (International Crisis Group, 2019, p.19).

Multilaterally, there is no breakthrough in Anglophone Cameroon crisis. United Nations had repeatedly warned both government and the rebels to respect the human rights. The United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa had condemned the human rights abuses, and the Secretary General, Antonio Guterres, had phoned President Paul Biya. Added to this, "the United Nations has asked both sides to guarantee humanitarian access to the zones affected by the conflict, end the violence and agree to dialogue" (International Crisis Group, 2019, p.19). European Union has also called for peaceful resolution of Anglophone Cameroon crisis. In April, 2019, European Union called for the release of the opposition leader Maurice Kamto and 50 members of his party, Cameroon Renaissance Movement. The immediate release of Maurice Kamto and the peaceful resolution of the Anglophone Cameroon crisis were the concern of the European Union. Regrettably, African Union has not been able to make any meaningful effort towards the peaceful resolution of the Anglophone Cameroon crisis. The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon is seen as an internal affair of Republic of Cameroon that does not require foreign intervention. Egypt has been championing this position, unfortunately supported by other African States such as, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, among others. The African Commission of Human and People Rights, a nongovernmental organization, is the only body that had issued statement condemning the government and the separatist group's atrocities against human rights (Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur 2020, p.9).

4.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It would be unfair for anyone to conclude that President Paul Biya has not made any effort towards peaceful resolution of the Anglophone Cameroon crisis. In July, 2017 President Biya recruited bilingual teachers, court auditors and created a Commission for Bilingualism and Multiculturalism, including the restoration of internet in the Southern Cameroon. In the same vein, the President also established Ministry for Decentralization and Local Development. In March 2018, Mr. Atanga Nji, an indigene of Southern Cameroon was appointed minister in charge of the ministry, a development that had never happened before the crisis. The government also budgeted FCFA 13 billion (£19.8 million) as Humanitarian Response Plan in July, 2018. International Crisis

Group (2019) regretted that, “these measures may be counterproductive if the government is simply trying to offer evidence of good faith” (p.9). However, separatists do not see anything good in all these efforts. Most of the government appointees, especially Walove Lyong, the Minister of Secondary Education was a traitor; therefore, nobody from the Anglophone region can celebrate his appointment.

In the light of all this, the paper suggests adoption of inclusive dialogue. All the actors in the Southern Cameroon, especially the leadership of Ambazonia Governing Council, Southern Cameroon Liberation Movement, Southern Cameroon Peoples Organization, among others, should be invited for a sincere talk with the government at Yaoundé. The expectation is that the agitation groups should come up with a single position on the type of government they want. All Anglophone Congress and Cameroon Anglophone Movement were looking for federation; Ambazonia Governing Council opted for secession while the rest are looking for decentralization (Fonkem, 2018). The central government under the leadership of President Paul Biya insists on centralization, nothing else. Confirming this, Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) hinted that, “in reply to the Anglophone demand for a return to the federal state, Biya has claimed, like Ahidjo that this tends would be costly, weak as far as the state power is concerned, and divisive, provoking ethnic and regional sentiments rather than national consciousness” (p.224).

The agitators would never have their way, if they continue to have different opinions. Federalism is the best, since international community would persuade President Biya to accept it, for the sake of peace. Similarly, President Paul Biya should lead the campaign for peace in Cameroon. Among other things President Biya should do immediately, is the prompt releases of all the political prisoners in his detention. President Biya should also embark on massive development projects in the Southern Cameroon as well as appointment of Southern Cameroonians into key positions in his government. As International Crisis Group (2017) stated:

It is difficult to envisage a credible dialogue unless the government...releases members of consortium, invites exiles to return to the country, halts legal proceedings against Anglophone clergy, opens legal proceeding against security forces responsible for abuses, reshuffle the government...increases the political representation of Anglophones and replaces the senior officials whose actions have exacerbated tension (p.25).

The separatists too, have to note that era of armed struggle has gone. They would only have sympathy from the public, through non-violent approach. International Crisis Group (2019) advised further that, "...the separatists should first begin an internal dialogue. The more pragmatic among them should urge their colleagues, including those who have lost family members to understand that the armed struggle will receive no support from international actors..." (p.24).

Furthermore, the paper also suggests international intervention in the Southern Cameroon crisis. Cameroon is strategically located, unfortunately a fragile state. Nearly all her immediate neighbours are in crises. In the Far North region that is bounded by Chad, Boko Haram terrorist, and Front_for Change and Concord in Chad, (the rebel group that killed former President Idriss Deby) are fighting hard to degrade the sovereignty of Cameroon and Chad. Central African

Republic that shares boundary with Cameroon in the East is still battling with rebel groups; Lord's Resistance Army, Seleka and Anti Balaka. In the same vein, Nigeria that shares the Western boundary is presently attacked by Biafra Nations League, Bakassi Freedom Fighters as well as Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta. Internal crisis in Cameroon that requires armed struggle would be a disaster, not only to Cameroon but to all her immediate neighbours. As International Crisis Group (2017) added:

Fresh political troubles could lead to a down-grading of its sovereign credit rating and make borrowing on the financial markets difficult. The political cost will be high if the crisis drags on and more violence breaks out...from now on, the international community must use diplomacy...combined with threats of sanctions against Cameroon's government and against violent Anglophone splinter groups (pp.9-10).

The super power; Britain, France, China, United States and Russia should reintroduce Southern Cameroon crisis issue in the United Nations agenda for global discussion. The last time the Anglophone Cameroon crisis was introduced into the United Nations agenda by Netherlands and Norway, was rejected because China, Russia, France, Ethiopia, Equitorial Guinea as well as Cote d'Ivoire voted against it (Agwanda, Nyadera & Ugur 2020). There is a need for global collaboration towards peaceful resolution of the Southern Cameroonian crisis. If Cameroon collapses, the entire Central Africa would know no peace. International Crisis Group (2019) equally advised that:

Europeans, Americans and Africans should lobby the UN Security Council to include the Anglophone crisis on its agenda despite its divisions,... it is also important to put the Anglophone crisis on the agenda of the African Union's peace and security council, an initiative that could be taken by the chair of African Union Commission (p.26).

Finally, the paper recommends sanction against the perpetrators of violence in Southern Cameroon. It is a known fact that government of President Paul Biya and his security forces have violated human rights and committed a lot of atrocities against the people of Southern Cameroon. The militia groups are not also exonerated from crime against humanity. The truth is that, both the state and the non-state actors have not been prosecuted before an independent global body. This is why they are committing crimes with impunity. The United States and European Union should not be quiet and allow impunity to reign in Cameroon. Travel ban and asset freezing should be imposed against senior government officials, senior military officers as well as the militia leaders who perpetrate crime against humanity. International Crisis Group (2019) even implored that, "the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) should state her intention to launch preliminary examination of abuses committed by both sides..." (p.26). This corroborates the position of John Fru Ndi (2007), the President of Social Democratic Front (SDF) who describe "government's bloody repression of October 2017 as genocide, calling for Paul Biya to be put on trial before the International Criminal Court(ICC)" (cited in International Group Crisis, 2017, p.8). However, President Paul Biya should not be singled out as the only perpetrator of violence in Southern Cameroon. The militia leaders and their sponsors, especially Ayuk Julius Ayuk, John Fru, John Foncha, Ayuba Lucas among others should be arraigned before the International Criminal Court. Fatou Bensouda, the Chief Prosecutor of ICC should not spare anybody, in order to serve as a deterrent to those African leaders who act with impunity.

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